

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 03353 01 OF 02 071826Z
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 3353

NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PDEV RH US UK
SUBJ: RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS: CARVER/CHAND MEETING WITH SMITH

SUMMARY: CARVER AND CHAND MET WITH SMITH, VAN DER BYL, SQUIRES AND HAWKINS FOR ABOUT ONE AND A HALF HOURS SUNDAY MORNING. SMITH COMPLAINED ABOUT OUR NOT SEEING CHIRAU AND INSISTED THAT WE AGREE ON THE CONSTITUTION BEFORE TALKING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE. HE AND HIS MINISTERS COMPLAINED THAT WE WERE PROVIDING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WITH THE MEANS TO SEIZE POWER THROUGH OUR PROPOSALS ON THE FORMATION OF THE ZANA. SMITH SAID MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE HAD A DIFFERENT STORY TO TELL HIM AND HE CLAIMED THE WAR WOULD END WHEN AGREEMENT WAS ACHIEVED WITH THEM. FURTHER TALKS, HHE SAID, SHOULD BE IN SALISBURY BETWEEN POLITICAL FIGURES AND INCLUDE MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND CHIRAU BEFORE MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. END SUMMARY.

1. SMITH OPENED THE MEETING BY COMPLAINING THAT WE HAD NOT MET WITH CHIRAU IN SPITE OF HIS REQUEST THAT WE DO SO. ZUPO REPRESENTED A LARGE GROUP OF AFRICANS IN THE COUNTRY. IT APPEARED AS THOUGH THE BRITISH ARE TRYING TO OSTRACIZE HIM. CARVER POINTED OUT THAT GRAHAM WAS MEETING WITH CHIRAU THAT DAY. HE SAID HE DID NOT THINK CHIRAU WAS INVOLVED IN MILITARY TALKS ABOUT A CEASEFIRE AND HE HAD NOT SHOWN ANY INTEREST TO DATE IN THE TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS.

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SECRET

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 03353 01 OF 02 071826Z

2. CARVER THEN REVIEWED OUR MEETING WITH THE PF IN DAR. HE SAID HE REFUSED TO ACCEDE TO NKOMO AND MUGABE'S DEMANDS THAT WE CONFINE OUR CONTACTS TO THEM. FURTHERMORE, THEIR CONTENTION THAT THE PF BE GIVEN POWER DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD WAS DEFINITELY NOT PART OF OUR PROPOSAL. THE PF EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO MEET WITH THE RHODESIANS, HIMSELF AND PREM CHAND TO DISCUSS

THE TRANSITION PERIOD. NKOMO AND MUGABE ALSO HAD INDICATED ACCEPTANCE OF A NUMBER OF THE PROPOSAL'S OBJECTIVES. THEY SAID THEY WERE IN FAVOR OF UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, A TRANSITION PERIOD IN WHICH THE BRITISH ADMINISTERED THE COUNTRY THROUGH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, AND A DESIRE FOR EARLY ACHIEVEMENT OF A CEASEFIRE. HE THOUGHT THIS COULD BE A USEFUL NEXT STEP. CARVER THEN REVIEWED HIS MEETINGS WITH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE, NOTING THE LATTER'S DESIRE TO ESTABLISH AN ADVISORY COUNCIL DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. HE SAID IN HIS MEETING WITH THE TWO NATIONALISTS AS WELL AS WITH ZAPU LEADER CHINAMANO, HHE HAD FOUND A WIDE MEASURE OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR PROPOSAL. HE HOPED THAT THESE GENERAL OBJECTIVES WERE EQUALLY ACCEPTABLE TO SMITH AND THAT WE COULD PROCEED TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS.

3. SMITH SAID HE HAD TWO SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH OUR PROPOSAL. WE WERE ASKING HIM TO ABANDON HIS PRESENT CONSTITUTION BEFORE A NEW ONE HAD BEEN AGREED UPON AND ACCEPTED BY THE RHODESIAN PEOPLE. SECOND, WE WERE ASKING HIM TO DISBAND HIS SECURITY FORCES. HE WANTED TO ASSURE US THAT NEITHER OF THESE COULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM. HE SAID HE WAS SURPRISED AT CARVER'S REPORT OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE. THEY SEEMED TO SAY DIFFERENT THINGS TO DIFFERENT PEOPLE AND COULD NOT REALLY BE RELIED ON. THEY HAD TOLD HIM THAT THEY WANTED TO KEEP THE RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCES IN BEING AND THAT THEY AGREED THAT YOU COULD NOT TEAR UP THE OLD CONSTITUTION UNTIL A
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SECRET

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 03353 01 OF 02 071826Z

NEW ONE HAD BEEN ACCEPTED. HE WANTED TO ASSURE THE FIELD MARSHALL THAT RHODESIA HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL AND THAT UNTIL A NUMBER OF POLITICAL DECISIONS WERE TAKEN, HE SAW NO FURTHER POINT FOR MILITARY TALKS. ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE WAS ONLY ACCEPTABLE IF THERE WERE ADEQUATE ASSURANCES MADE FOR THE WHITE POPULATION. SO FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED, WE WERE PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE. THERE COULD BE NO DISCUSSION OF A CEASEFIRE UNTIL POLITICAL MATTERS HAD BEEN RESOLVED. MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE AGREED, HE SAID. ONCE AN AGREEMENT ON THE CONSTITUTION WAS CONCLUDED WITH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE, THE WAR WOULD END ANYWAY. WE TOOK EXCEPTION TO THIS AND ASKED SMITH WHETHER SUCH AN IDEA INCLUDED A TRANSITION PERIOD. WHEN HE SAID IT DID, WE ASKED WHO THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY WOULD BE. HE DECLINED TO REPLY. SMITH WARNED CARVER THAT THIS WAS A MATTER FOR POLITICIANS, NOT SOLDIERS.

4. THERE WAS DISCUSSION BY SQUIRES ABOUT THE INTENTIONS OF THE PF. IF THEY WERE IN FAVOR OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, HE ASKED, WHY DID THEY INSIST ON DOMINATING THE ARMED FORCES-- WASN'T THIS SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY CANDIDATE BUT THEIR OWN? HAWKINS EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER LARGE PF FORCES IN THE RESERVES WHO WOULD TAKE OVER THE GOVERNMENT AFTER

INDEPENDENCE. IN AFRICA, HE SAID, IT IS THE MEN WITH GUNS WHO
RULE. LORD CARVER EXPLAINED HIS PROPOSAL THAT THE RESERVE
FORCES WEAPONS WOULD BE HELD BY THE REGULAR ARMY WHICH ITSELF
WAS RESPONSIBLE TO THE PRESIDENT. HE SAID, FURTHERMORE, THAT
RECRUITMENT WOULD NOT BE CONFINED TO THE LIBERATION FORCES.
HE DID NOT ACCEPT THAT IN ANY JOINT ARMY YOU HAD EITHER TO HAVE
SERVED WITH THE LIBERATION FORCES OR THE RDF. THE RHODESIANS
ASKED WHETHER HE PLANNED ANY MODIFICATIONS OR CHANGES IN THE
RHODESIAN AFRICAN RIFLE BATTALIONS. CARVER SAID HE DID NOT,
OTHER THAN THE COMMANDER.

5. HAWKINS ASKED ABOUT ASSURANCES FOR WHITES, SAYING THAT OUR
PROPOSALS ON AN ARMY WOULD LEAD THEM TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY WHICH,
HE ASSUMED, WE WISHED TO AVOID. WE REPLIED SAYING THAT YOU
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SECRET

PAGE 04 LUSAKA 03353 01 OF 02 071826Z

SIMPLY COULD NOT IGNORE THE LIBERATION FORCES IF PEACE WERE TO

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 03353 02 OF 02 072124Z
ACTION NODS-00

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 3353

NODIS CHEROKEE

BE RETURNED. WE POINTED OUT THAT THE BEST ASSURANCE FOR ORDER
IN THE COUNTRY WAS TO REABSORB THESE MEN AND GIVE THEM A PLACE
IN THE SOCIETY. THERE WERE OTHER ASSURANCES AS WELL IN A
CONSTITUTION. ONE SIMILAR TO IT HAD WORKED IN KENYA, BOTSWANA,
ZAMBIA, ETC. THE BEST ASSURANCES, HOWEVER, WERE IN THE STRONG
ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE WHITE POPULATION WHICH HISTORY HAD
PROVED IN KENYA WAS ITS GREATEST STRENGTH. FINALLY, THE
ASSURANCES OF A RETURN TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY

THROUGH THE DEVELOPMENT FUND PROVIDED A MAJOR INCENTIVE TO THE WHITES TO STAY. SMITH SAID THIS WAS ALL VERY WELL AND HE HAD HEARD THE SAME FROM OWEN, BUT THE PROPOSAL WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WHITE POPULATION OF RHODESIA. THE RHODESIANS AGAIN COMPLAINED ABOUT REPLACEMENT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE BY AN OUTSIDER.

6. THERE WAS FURTHER DISCUSSION ABOUT THE NEED TO DEAL WITH THE POLITICAL SUBJECTS BY POLITICIANS. SMITH COMPLAINED STRONGLY ABOUT THE BRITISH DELAY OF SEVEN WEEKS IN REPLYING TO HIS QUESTIONS ON THE PROPOSALS. WE NOTED, OF COURSE, THAT GRAHAM WAS IN THE CITY PRECISELY TO DISCUSS THESE SUBJECTS AND SAID THAT EVERYONE SEEMED TO HAVE A DIFFERENT IDEA ABOUT WHICH SUBJECTS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED WHEN. IN OUR VIEW, WE SHOULD PROCEED WITH ALL OF THEM SO IT WAS IMPORTANT TO TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE TRANSITION PERIOD WITH THE PF. SMITH SAID HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS WITH SITHOLE,
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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 03353 02 OF 02 072124Z

MUZOREWA AND CHIRAU IN SALISBURY. HAWKINS SAID THAT IN THE PRESENT WAR CONDITIONS, SECURITY CHIEFS COULD NOT LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

7. COMMENT: SMITH AND HIS COLLEAGUES, AS USUAL, WERE CONTENTIOUS, BLUNT AND AT TIMES VERGED ON BEING RUDE. IT SEEMED HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THE SAME MEN WHO COMPLAINED SO BITTERLY THAT OUR PROPOSAL GAVE TOO MUCH OPPORTUNITY TO THE PF TO ACHIEVE POWER THROUGH THE FORCE OF ARMS ARE AT THE SAME TIME ENGAGED IN

CONVERSATIONS TO TURN POWER OVER TO IT. WHILE NEGATIVE, HOWEVER, THEY CERTAINLY DID NOT CLOSE ANY DOORS TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. THEY SEEMED TO BE SAYING, RATHER, LET'S BARGAIN ABOUT WHO ATTENDS AND WHERE THE MEETING IS TO BE HELD, AND PERHAPS SEEKING TO SLOW DOWN THE PROCESS SOMEWHAT.
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